i:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than today. A tapu (*lasi*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes, especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

Individual named talo beds (*ai tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adz; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks, two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *topa* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *mea titi ui*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

Adzes

Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngalipayua*), as shown by Macgregor (20,fig.13).[1] They were attached directly to the haft (fig.21). No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements

1 [See 2: McGregor, p. 46 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Soul Trap

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Though I believe the so-called "soul trap" was not used in Pukapukan culture but was only an ideological concept of one of the many traps with which the Underworld was full (p. 329), nevertheless particulars of the soul trap sold by Gill in 1876 to Sir Wollaston Franks for the British Museum may be given here. The following description as well as the print of the central portion of the trap (pl. 6) has been forwarded to me by Mr. Adrian Digby of the British Museum.

a b

[223 284]

Figure 48.—Bird snares. *a*, snare for *kui* birds (*maenga kui*) (C8135): drinking nut (1) 4 inches high, with top removed to form opening (2) 3 inches in diameter; flesh removed from inside upper portion of nut down to dotted line (3); five holes bored through shell just below rim (4) and a length of prepared coconut fiber passes through each hole to be fastened by knot; free end of each fiber forms a slip noose (5); snare set by making five nooses which pass through each other and so block opening. *b*, snare (*maenga tuli*) (C8060) for *tuli* birds, section only of snare shown: stick (1) section of coconut midrib, 4 feet 4 inches long, ⅜ inch in diameter; lengths of prepared coconut fiber (2) knotted at regular intervals along stick; fibers each knotted into slip nooses of which there are 23 on stick, each about 2½ inches in diameter; long fiber (3) with loop at end knotted to each end of stick and loop dropped over peg to anchor stick in place; a fixed loop (4) is knotted to each end of stick and placed over peg or held down with a stone to give more secure placement to snare; wings (*fu*) of coconut leaves and stones fan out at an angle of about 145 degrees from each end of stick to ensure that birds do not escape around ends of snare.

The trap (no. 9925, Christy Coll., British Mus.) has a total length of 19 feet 4½ inches and consists of eight loops (of which only six are shown in pl. 6) made by binding three-ply braid round a core. This core is made of double lengths of three-ply braided sennit, loose coconut fibers (probably those adhering to the roughly made sennit), and some two-ply twisted *neo* fiber. The loops are lashed in pairs to a long three-ply sennit braid which tapers at both ends. The shorter end (F) terminates in a two-ply twist about 2 inches long. The material used in lashing loops to the central cord is a combination of coarse three-ply braid, with either a fine three-ply braid or a two-ply twist. No details of the lashing are available. Mr. Digby suggests that part of the material used in lashing the pair of loops (D) is a small quantity of bark cloth. But bark cloth was never made in Pukapuka, and it is probable that the material has been confused either with coconut leaf stipule (*kaka*) which is not generally used for lashings because of the weakness of the fibers, or else with thick strips of *neo* fiber.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

851 mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's
574 affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*ulusaki*),
612 the *puaki* feast is followed several days later by the *wuale* food division. If the *ulusaki* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *tamomayunga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *wuale* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *wuale* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*suiva*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

[175] If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*wale lopa*) or a girl a girl's house (*wale tamamaaine*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Moa (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Apaura (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however unbroken, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

764 address by relationship terms. A close relative of the deceased who is unable because of illness to go to the house in which the body lies, conducts his own wake, wailing through the night in his own home, however distant. More distant relatives and friends who come to pay their last respects to the deceased occupy places farther away from the corpse. They sit or lie on the ground within and outside the house. Children play about among the mourners; babies are fed when they awake and are then expected to go to sleep again. The wake is called *makaalanga*. The word *tangi* is applied both to the death-chanting and to the type of chant usually recited over a corpse.

764

533 Two groups of mourners, principally women, are informally constituted, each responsible for starting (*uyu*) alternate chants, which are taken up by all present. The mourners not greatly moved by the death take every opportunity to provide relief. Thus the alternate groups of women discuss in stage whispers what chant they shall start next. They begin one chant, get halfway through, and then forget the continuation, letting the chant trail off in the air with any amount of half-suppressed giggles. As each chant ends with a loud upward sweep of the voices, the chief mourners break out with sobs and wailings; but as this is considered more strenuous than chanting, every effort is made to start the next chant immediately. Formerly the chief mourners continued to cut themselves with sharp instruments throughout the wake. With blood pouring from their cuts, they became more and more excited, swaying wildly to the rhythm of the chanting. The excitement was climaxed if a mourner of opposite sex to the deceased tore off his malo or kilt and flung himself on the body.

764 At dusk, a coconut-shell fire or, today, a smoky kerosene lantern, is lit. Crowds of friends who have been working during the day turn up for the evening. Babies play about; older people get quiet amusement from watching the antics of the young; girls and boys flirt on the outskirts of the crowd. Those who can not get into the house of death sit beside the road on a grassy stretch, cool themselves in the night breezes, and gossip to their hearts' content.

The wake lasts from 18 to 24 hours, for the remainder of the day or night when death occurred until sometime during the following day. Today active church members chant during the day and hold a hymn-singing festival at night. More passive members of the church chant the whole time and finish up with no voices at all, bleary eyes, and general bad temper.

For interment (*tanunga*) the corpse is wrapped up securely in a number of mats. All the death presents are placed on the breast of the corpse, and the whole is securely trussed with sennit. Today it is customary to saw a piece from a canoe and make this into a wooden coffin, but this was never done formerly. A shallow grave (*luo* or *tuluma*) is dug in an east to west line in the cemetery (*po*) to which the deceased belongs, formerly with digging stick and coconut shells, today with pick and shovel. Followed by all the mourners and friends, the corpse is carried by the men to the grave. Burial is in the extended position; neither sitting interment nor flexed burial of any type was known. The corpse is placed in the grave with the head pointing to the east, the feet pointing to the west.

764
775 The rationalization for this position is that when the soul stands up to go to the Underworld, it will face to the west. Insofar, however, as the entrance to the Underworld is said to be just beyond the reef off the northeast side of Wale, it would seem

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the ceremony is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *nis wakavale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Underworld happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners.

The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *taupo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matenga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale ima*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Underworld were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tongata kaiyepu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*wakalolei*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *puyis wale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Cultural Attitude Toward Death

It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purification rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse, of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retirement until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a cemetery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a cemetery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones, rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the cemetery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pandanus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the headstones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight. But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips intensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti tuakatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

human body. She was also specially consulted by the supreme chief when it was necessary to conceal the island from hostile canoes, or in cases of anti-social conduct harmful to the life of the island as a whole, such as disobedience, thieving, breaking of tapus. If individual stealing from the reserves was reported to this goddess by her priest, Taua would send sickness or cause the thief to miss his step next time he climbed a tree and so fall to the ground.

Tumulivaka, the son of the god Mataliki, was one of the more important gods of the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu. Nothing specific is remembered about his functions.

Te Vayi, another god of Muliwutu, was guardian of the eight-walled structure (*po valu*) in the Underworld, and in this capacity could be called upon to punish deserting or adulterous husbands of any lineage by burning their souls in his fire. It is not clear whether this concept of burning a living soul is ancient.

Yawenga was a third god of Muliwutu. He became an ancestor god after he had broken the tapu against eating coconut with turtle flesh, the punishment for which was drowning by a turtle. He was later promoted to the status of an *atua punupunu*.

Te Matakiate, the daughter of Mataliki, and Malokitelangi were the principal gods of the Ngake lineage of Matanga. Their functions were general and they made no specialty of curing sickness. Malokitelangi's rainbow sign of approval was essential in the choice of chief for this lineage.

Tumailangi, god of the sub-lineage (*nukuvae*) Paku of Matanga, had no separate religious structure of his own, but was consulted either in the god house of his sub-lineage, or else on the religious structure of the god Malokitelangi. He was a god with special curing powers, available to all the people of the island, but was always consulted through a priest of his sub-lineage.

Tamayei, a major god of i Tua, and the god in charge of all the coconut trees on the island, was remembered with a gift of nuts, placed aside for him whenever the chief of the island made a special *laukava* food distribution. It was also considered pleasing to this god if coconut husks were picked up, arranged neatly, and covered with humus or sand.

Kui, at first an ancestor god, later came by promotion to be god of Yangalipule lineage. His exploits as a human being during the reign of the chief Kamola are recorded elsewhere (1).

Tamalanga, first an ancestor god and then an *atua punupunu* of Yamaunga lineage of Yato, was originally a child aged ten months drowned in a taro swamp after it had become flooded by heavy rains. He had special powers over fish; when the people of Yamaunga went fishing they prayed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

powers, though not deistic functions. Lu was called upon by Te Atua Vaelua to raise up the sky. He came from the land of Aolako, accompanied by his friend, Pingao. Te Atua Pule is thought by some to be the same as Kanitika, but by others to be more of a man-eating ogre. The only mention of Te Alikitu is in the story of the three-cornered contest with Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu (1). Nothing more is known of him.

Wua and Velo were gods who "made" star signs, showing the seasons for fishing. Two stars, either α and β Centauri, or two others of the same declension, are called Na-lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo (The-two-stars-of-Wua-and-Velo).

Totoloa was a god of the eastern seas; Tipeva and Kanapu were gods of the western seas. They lived in houses under the sea and had as their mistresses (*ipo*) the large deep-sea fish. These fish brought all the pearl-shell fishhooks they could bite from the lines of Pukapukan fishermen to the gods who stuck the hooks in the rafters of their houses.

The phrase, *te pane o Tane* occurs in a chant; informants believe this refers to Tane, a god of the legendary land of Yayake. The word *pane* is so archaic as to be no longer translatable, but informants thought it might refer to some mysterious power possessed by this god which enabled him to send fish around the canoe of the fisherman. Nothing more is known of Tane, nor is anything known of other major gods of the Polynesian pantheon such as Rongo or Tu. The name Tangaloa occurs in two chants, "Wakaanga kokoti te waulua" and "Wakaoli io koe". In the first, Tangaloa is referred to as an *aitu wangota* (fishing spirit); in the second, mention is made of the southern place (*te vayi tonga*) of Tangaloa. Informants could not clarify these references and had no memory of a god corresponding to Tangaroa.

Attendant Gods

A final class of spiritual beings with godlike powers were called *newu* or *tikitiki*. They were minor gods or servants of the major gods. When a fisherman's request to the major god of his lineage was favorably received, the god sent some of his attendants to help the fisherman. The attendants came from their legendary meeting place called Lauawa, rounded up the fish, and drove them toward the fishing canoe. Informants compared these minor spirits to angels assisting the major Christian gods. Some of these minor spirits were recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits or spirits of the recently dead. Others were small gods who dispersed from Tonga when Maui hauled it up. In this latter group are placed the names of minor gods, who sometimes function as gods in their own right. A good example is Te Maungatu, who is sometimes given as an attendant god, at other times as subordinate only to Te Laupapa, and again as a god of Ngake and Yato

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

193 him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

613 Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a
176 man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamaysi, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Matalilci and Tuua, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

Life after Death

The Soul

174 The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the
175 idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*wauli*) leaves the material body and
161 wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

174 The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Mataliki, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders about in the night. Medicine men (*tangata wotu*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

The Cosmos

The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa wenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tawa o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga*, *te kapi lalo*, and *te po likuliku*. No limit to these levels is known.

The Underworld

Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these brothers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supplemented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is as follows:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

5'39

One day the two brothers came to the outer beach of Ngake village to bathe and swim in the sea at the place known as Te Ava-o-Te-Palo. They hung up their coconut-leaf malos on a banana tree and entered the water. They swam out to the reef shelf and were disporting themselves there in the breakers, when all at once, they saw a huge wave rise up. It opened out and uncovered a big hole, The-entrance-to-the-Po, into which the two men stepped. The wave closed over them again, and they found themselves in darkness. There was a path running down, but it was very dark, very steep, and very slippery. This was the path to the Po. A guiding thread of sennit ran downward along the angle of the inclined path. Te Yoa did not wish to venture down the road, but Wotoa, more courageous, was determined to go, and persuaded his brother to come with him. He told Te Yoa to walk closely behind him. When Wotoa lifted one foot, Te Yoa was to slip his own foot into the foot print; and when Wotoa lifted his other foot, Te Yoa was to advance his second foot to the vacant place. In this way, Te Yoa would be able to walk with safety: Wotoa, going first, would take all the risks.

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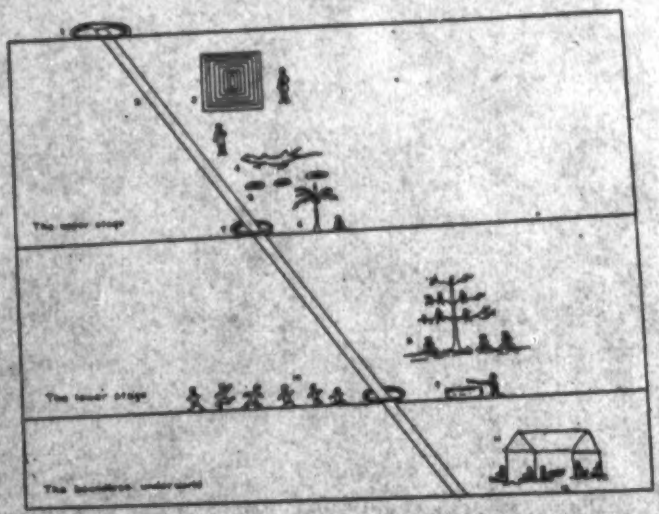

FIGURE 54.—Pukapukan Underworld (Po), from a drawing by Talainga. 1, entrance to first stage of Underworld (*te hapi lunga*); 2, road to Underworld; 3, eight-walled structure of the god Te Vayi (*te fa a Te Vayi*); 4, lizard (*moko*) and its guardian god Loku; 5, fresh water springs (*na vai no te po*); 6, coconut tree of Malu and its guardian god Malu; 7, entrance to lower stage (*te hapi lalo*); 8, *puka* tree of god Tangi, women who have borne children sitting in branches, childless women sitting on ground below; 9, musician god Tulikalo playing his gong (*nouu*); 10, group of gods dancing to music; 11, house of many posts of goddess Leva (*te vale pou tinitini o Leva*); 12, goddess Leva plaits her mat while other gods rest against house posts awaiting coming of spirits of deceased Pukapukans to Underworld. Talainga has omitted banana tree of god Mutua, oscillating stone of Yokamani, taro gardens, coconut groves, and ocean that surround house of Leva in the boundless Underworld (*te Po likuliku*).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of talo food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, talo, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lunga*, presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Underworld represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po Ikuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived from a visit of the seer Levi:

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as slit gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*tukutaku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *welo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyauola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *karakia* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yiuata to put together again the tree chopped down by

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Lata (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matapili*) that Wotoa and Te Yoa saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an "crevaerum" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

> If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offense against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon VAEBUA,* or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.
>
> The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread VAEBUA for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and VAEBUA could not be induced to send back the spirit to reinhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.
>
> In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the snare, it was inferred that he would recover.
>
> I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, testily, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls —some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *ava snares* would be *yale vaalua* (noose spirit-like or spirit-like noose), but the word *vaalua* would rarely be used in this sense; a

* Presumably Gill here refers to the degenerated god, Te Atua Vaalua.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ava tuarua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talahetake	You were tied to the *talahetake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, kua mate, kua elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai tama i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale pontini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a maile or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

1. [See p. 64, category 116—analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

757 552 552 must then afterward be burnt until they are reduced as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 753 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yilolo*, modern term) is all-pervading in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

753 577 784 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures. 761 184 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognised. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

782 133 776 Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki ha kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua tino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yuuvaga o te atua hi lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

sounding (*lupe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was given by Pau:

> A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.
>
> Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on a slight pretext was termed *tangata lapu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lapu atua* instead of the desired victim.

A malicious spirit (*aitu*) who inflicted disease on a living person to avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

> The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medicine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a boxlike stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and disemboweled him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi te ywa*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognized the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu tutukoa*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases. They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and lit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutukoa* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutukoa* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutukoa* must be at large and the cure was continued until all were put out of the way.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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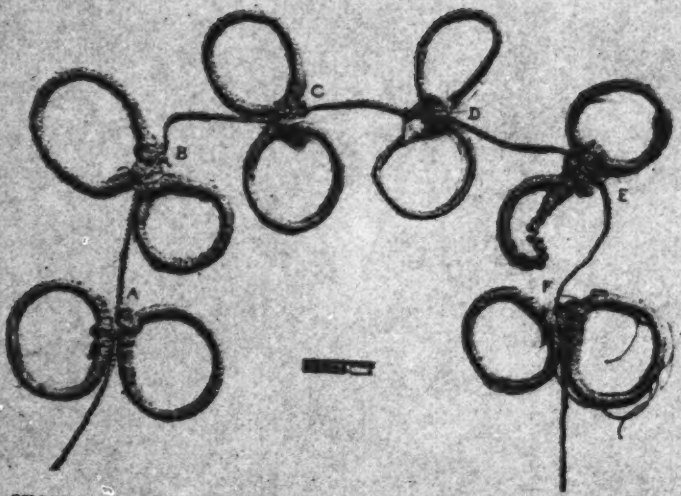

GILL'S PUKAPUKAN SOUL TRAP. DIMENSIONS: END TO A, 12 FEET 1½ INCHES; A TO B, 6½ INCHES; B TO C, 7½ INCHES; C TO D, 6½ INCHES; D TO E, 7 INCHES; E TO F, 8 INCHES; F TO END, 4 FEET 3½ INCHES; APPROXIMATE DIAMETERS OF CIRCLES VARY FROM 4 INCHES TO 3 INCHES.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for land of the dead, see pp. 23-24.]

Chant for a Fishing Competition (1)

539 I taku vaitili maka ki tua: My chant is thrown to the back of the island:

Yinuyinumaki i na kotinga o te wenua, Well guarded are the boundaries of Ngake's lands,

No Ngake ia Tuapuka, To Ngake belongs Tuapuka reef, back of the island,

No Ngake ia Te Akau-loa, To Ngake belongs Te Akau-loa reef,

No Ngake te va o Te Itu, To Ngake belongs the space of the reef Te Itu,

No Ngake mo na uluulu akau peia? Does not Ngake therefore own all the outer reefs?

E momoe aí ona tupele, ona mulivaka, ona lopa, Here sleep helpful spirits of old men, mature men, young men in their prime, (2)

Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te lui ma te wanga, Hung are the fishermen's malos with lui and wanga fish, (3)

Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te patuki yiva Hung are the malos with patuki yiva fish

Li, li na ulu ki te unaliki, Wrapped are their heads in wreaths of unaliki fish,

Ta na malo ki te taiva, Their malos are made with taiva fish,

Pepelu ki te yiku o te ta They are girded with the tails of ta fish

O matou kili ni tui lawi, Our skins are strings of lawi fish,

O matou kili ni tui lenga, Strings of lenga fish cover our skin,

O matou kili ni tui wuakau mai tua a! Covered with wuakau fish from the back of the island!

1. This chant called a vaitili is sung by the winners in a competition for the catching of the reef fish patuki.
[133] [103] Tuapuka is part of the encircling reef at the back of the island. Te akau loa is the long reef running from Yato to Motu Kotawa. Te Itu is the reef between Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 18, category 116--analyst].

[775] 2. The spirits of dead men are thought of as constituting an army of helpers who gather the fish of the sea and bring them to the hooks of Ngake contestants.

3. As the fishermen bring their catch back to the village, they string the fish about their waists and around their heads.

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).

787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,

776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:

775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-

539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporising with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

776 stole inside again, and whisked the soul of Milimili out from
775 under the mat, threw it outside the house, and there the two
539 family gods picked up the soul, rushed up to the upper world, and put it back inside the body of Milimili. His body turned brown again from its death color of white; he began to breathe again. Then in the midst of his sorrowing relatives, he sat up and told the story of his adventure, including the mako which he heard in the Po. The mako goes: Tulikalo e, Tulikalo e.....etc.

776 Te Maungatu is a kainga god of Yamaunga po of Yato. Two
539 stories are told to show how he has the power to protect the people of his kainga [i.e., po]:

Pakai was a wata (priest) of this god, and he was sent to Motu Ko to watch the outerbeach for the arrival of turtles coming ashore to breed. To do this he had to spend the night on Motu Ko alone. All the malicious spirits, aitu, on Ko decided to kill him and eat him, since he appeared to be without protection, and was violating the sanctity of the reserve. Pakai heard voices about him as the ghosts came crowding around, but he could see nothing. Soon as the ghosts came closer still, he heard voices say: "Tau laulau, tau pala," "get ready your food platter your knife (to cut up this intruder)." At once Pakai realized he was in danger of being eaten and cut up for intruding on this motu. He prayed to Te Maungatu, and as the ghosts made a charge at Pakai, Te Maungatu dived under the feet of the ghosts and pushed them aside. Through this space, Pakai was able to run to the beach. The ghosts followed him anxious not to let go this intruder, but whenever they appeared to be hemming him in, then Te Maungatu came and made a break in the circle for him to escape through. Thus Te Maungatu defended him until he could run along the reef and reach again the village, when, of course, the ghosts vanished at the sound of many human voices.

Tuyana was a wata of Te Maungatu. At the time of the seismic wave, Tuyana disappeared in the flood waters, and after the waters subsided, Te Maungatu looked for his priest. He came to the beach opposite Niua, and saw there the dead body of Tuyana, with all the flesh and skin decayed, only the bones and sinews holding together. Te Maungatu took the skeleton to Kotawa, and put it in the hollow of a big puka tree near the outer beach. He cared for the skeleton, and gradually, it grew new flesh and skin, and came to life again. Thus Te Maungatu has a wata again in this world to represent him before human beings of his kainga.

8:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--9 E-5 (1934-35)1953 Pukapukans

776. The following story relates the way that Te Awuawu and
539 Ngaliyeyeu were always ready to help the people: On one occasion a canoe from Loto went fishing along the alai of the lagoon. The crew became tired, hungry and thirsty, and the canoes were drifting down on Motu Kotawa. The crews were too hungry to paddle back to Wale without refreshment, yet as the men from Yato were fishing on Kotawa, and as they also had a palenga pule guard on the island, it would be impossible to paddle up to the landing beach, land and get nuts. The crew therefore decided to pray to these two gods, Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, to come and occupy the canoe, while the crew swam ashore and stole some nuts. Soon, several birds fluttered down from the air and settled on the canoe, telling the crew to swim ashore while they looked after the canoe. The crew jumped over the side, and when they were a little distance from the canoe, the birds changed into humans, who held fishlines, over the side. The crew swam to the back of the island and came back soon with nuts. When they came near the canoe, the birdmen changed back into birds, and flew away when the crew was safely back in the canoe. It was all done in such a way, that the Yato guard on shore did not realize that the human crew had swum ashore. All they could see was the canoe with the crew fishing; they did not realize that the fishermen were bird-men, and not the real crew of Loto.

775 Wotoa and Te Yoa..their visit to the Underworld. [see 1:
539 Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-330--analyst.]

The account of alaekonga has these variations:

1. The two men asked to visit the Po by their god who appeared in a dream to them and extended a personal invitation. The place on the reef where they went down was called Te ava o veka, which is near the place called Te ala o kawa.
2. Malu was guarding his niu tree. He climbed up, got one nut, husked it, gave it to them to drink and eat the flesh (the mata end to Wotoa, the muli end to Te Yoa). The shells were then given back to Malu who fitted them together, threw the nut up in the tree again, where it joined on to the tree as a perfect nut.
3. Both men saw the gods playing games, and introduced these to Pukapuka.
4. The gods made mako when they found that Leva had a soul trapped in the mat.
5. Only Wotoa came back to Pukapuka. Te Yoa found things so much to his liking that he asked to be allowed to stay in the Po. His wish was granted and he stayed there afterwards.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tule* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.